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ABSTRACT

A male bias in United States society persists in that power, competitiveness, and rational planning are rewarded while nurturing, cooperation, and intimacy are devalued. This pattern of societal "reinforcement" severely penalizes women. Social learning in childhood, particularly in games, much like on-the-job training in adulthood, has important outcomes in allowing access to privileged occupational positions. To explore such theses, a study was made of informal interaction during recess in three diverse school settings in the Cincinnati metropolitan area. The major purpose of the study was to investigate, in third and sixth graders, differences in reported and observed rates of participation in highly complex playground games. Consistent with previous related research, findings showed that boys participated in complex games more than did girls. Two years following the playground study, 287 of the original group of 400 children were located and a survey of the children's occupational interests was taken, using the Project Talent Interest Inventory. Subsequently, a series of interviews was conducted with eight ninth-grade girls from the initial study's older cohort. Tentative conclusions were reached concerning the association between girls' earlier participation in playground activities and their current academic progress and occupational plans. (The interview questionnaire is appended.) (RH)

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GIRLS WHO PLAY BOYS' GAMES, GIRLS WHO PLAY GIRLS' GAMES GIRLS WHO DON'T PLAY AT ALL

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INTRODUCTION

Their exclusion from complex games in childhood deprives most girls of experiences in an important early professional-managerial training ground. We refer particularly to experiences in negotiating power, rules and roles. Children demonstrate at least an elementary mastery of these applied social skills in their routine organization of complex game structures. It is boys and not girls who regularly participate in complex game negotiations. We argue that there are similar interpersonal dynamics in organizational settings. These dynamics can be summarzied as the political life of organizational members.

Three common themes characterize the separate worlds of children's games and adult professional and managerial occupations:

Access

Like life in organizations, life in children's games is governed by access to an ongoing group. Rates of participate are highly regulated by gatekeepers who screen participants for evidence of attributes deemed necessary for co-membership. These attributes, however, may be only marginally related to the actual skills (including social skills) demanded by the game (or organizational) structure. Although access is determined by demonstration or assessment of some minimal level of competence (especially in games) or related training and education (especially in organizations) it is clear that personnel decisions in the world of work show

bias in favor of men and against women at all stages: entry, evaluation and promotion (Nieva and Gutek, 1980).

Male Dominance

Children's games, especially team sports, are dominated by boys (Lever, 1978); professional and managerial roles are typically held by men. In 1980, managerial jobs requiring complex social skills (persuading, diverting, supervising, negotiating, mentoring) were held by a small proportion of women who occupied less than 25% of the available positions. In 1981, the median salary for white women managers and administrators was $14,664 as compared to $24,492 for white men in similar positions. There is clearly a persistent male bias in both adult occupational and children's play activities. Obstructions to female participation in both cases are inherent in organizational structures, general stereotypes and in the attitudes of girls' peers and women's colleagues and supervisors (Nieva and Gutek, 1980).

Complexity

It is important at the outset to clarify the several meanings of the term "complexity" as it is used here. Organizational complexity refers to the patterned relationships among structural features such as roles, group goals, rules, and the like.

To negotiate complex organizations, the individual presumably must wield relatively complex social skills. Social skills are presumed to reside in one individual as a set of

personality traits or characteristics. Congruent with this assumption, previous studies of children's social development and their social cognitive skills have been measured by standard tasks constructed by developmental psychologists. Research in this tradition has judged the child's capacity to take the perspective of another on the basis of performance in a laboratory setting (see, for example, Ford, 1979). In our discussion, by contrast, we emphasize "applied" social intelligence, the demonstration in real life of a capacity to organize, manage and negotiate complex social interactions. This capacity is transparent inchildren's spontaneously organized games.

Games and managerial occupations both require participants to engage in complex interactions with others. In games, particularly in team activities such as soccer, football and the like, children must undertake relatively complex verbal exchanges to settle issues of power, rules, roles and strategies (Borman, Barrett and Sheoran, 1982). Managerial roles demand skill in supervising, negotiating and mentoring (Dictionary of Occupational Titles, 1977).

Complexity in games was observed by Lever (1978) who judged complexity along six dimensions: division of labor based on specialization of roles; interdependence between individual members; size of the membership; explicitness of the group goals; number and specificity of impersonal rules; and action of members as a unified collective. It should be noted that Lever's system of classification draws from the

literature on complex organizations. Thus, the unit of analysis is the social group and not the individual.

In summary, complex childhood games and adult work organizations, particularly the structures of managerial and professional roles, are characterized by 1) biased (pro-male) rules of access requiring attributes considered critical for co-membership, 2) predominantly male memberships, 3) complex patterns of social interactions.

WORLD OF CHILDREN'S PLAY

Learning Power, Rules and Roles of Games

Children's spontaneously organized play activities and, particularly, competitive play in complex games, allows the rehearsal of complex social skills related to future performance in professional and managerial roles. With few exceptions, girls are systematically excluded from these games and, by extension, from important experiences in manipulating power, rules and roles.

Before we begin a discussion of social interaction and negotiations in children's playground games, we wish to offer an important caveat. We are by no means suggesting that developing skills in power negotiating is somehow "better" than learning skills in nurturance. In fact, we are in fundamental agreement with Gilligan (1982) and others who argue that women's moral development typically takes a substantively difference course than men's. In contemporary

western societies, women's moral development emphasizes the significance in ethical problem solving of conflicting responsibilities as opposed to the emphasis in men's moral development on competing individual rights. The argument instead is that a male bias persists in U.S. society such that power, competitiveness and rational planning are rewarded and nurturance, cooperation and intimacy are devalued throughout the life cycle. This pattern of societal "reinforcement" of one set of values and behaviors over another severaly penalizes women.

Further, we are arguing that social learning in childhood, particularly in games, much like on-the-job training in adulthood, has important outcomes in allowing access to privileged occupational positions. Here, it is important to recognize that experience gained in informal learning modifies and structures the individual's world view. Cross-cultural studies suggest that regular, recurrent experience in abstract problem solving tasks systematically organizes cognitive structures which mediate subsequent approaches to problem solving in similar contexts (Cole and Means, 1981). We argue that the same principle applies to social problem solving contexts and that complex games are social problem solving milieus <u>par excellence</u>.

There are several factors that common sense suggests as likely to contribute to the more frequent involvement by boys in complex, competitive games. First, traditional patterns of

of sex role socialization exert pressure to compete (as opposed to nurture). As toddler boys are provided with toys and play equipment that emphasize active engagement and manipulation of things (Fagot, 1974).

Second, a variety of material factors contribute to different roles of involvement in complex games. The physical resources of the playground, for example, the condition of available equipment, were found in a pertinent study (Borman, Barrett and Sheoran, 1981) to be related to the socioeconomic background of students attending the school. Thus, we might expect that affluent students attending well-provisioned schools would be morelikely to have the space and equipment to organize a soccer or baseball game than less advantaged students attending other schools.

Third, individual attributes might contribute to differential rates of participation in complex games. Social intelligence as a construct has generally been considered to consist of two component parts: "The ability to understand and manage men and women, boys and girls -- to act wisely in human relations" (E.L. Thorndike, 1920, as quoted in Walker and Foley, 1973:840). The recent emphasis in defining job-related skills has clearly been onthe applications of social intelligence in both nurturing and managing others. However, in its application to the world of work, the earliest emphasis

was upon social intelligence as it defined the (male) managerial role. As Walker and Foley point out, the use of the term "social intelligence" by the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration in 1930, though explicitly referencing Thorndike, "narrows social intelligence to managerial leadership" as it clear in the following:

> "The essential thing is that the person having a high degree of social intelligence is able to get others consistently and voluntarily to do the things he (sic) wants them to do and even like doing so, while the person without considerable social intelligence cannot consistently bring about such results.
>
> (Bureau of Public Personnal Administration, 1920; as quoted in Walker and Foley, 1973:846)

As is clear in the above passage, the component of <u>social understanding</u> present in Thorndike's conceptualization is lost in a pragmatic and male biased view of social intelligence as equated with social power-in-action.

It is beyond the scope of this discussion to examine the several factors of the social intelligence construct that have more recently become of interest to social psychologists and developmentalists (see Walker and Foley, 1973, for a review). However, it is important to note that several domains comprise the general construct of social intelligence: (a) what the other sees (visual/spatial or perceptual); (b) what the other feels (affective); and, (c) what the other thinks (cognitive/communicative or conceptual) (Ford, 1979). It should also be emphasized that social intelligence mediates social behaviors

observed in the adult, job-related skills of nurturance, mentoring and so forth as well as in children's game-related behaviors -- particularly their verbal negotiations in power, rules and roles in highly complex games (Rubin and Pepler, 1980; Mathews, 1977; Lever, 1978). Thus, individuals with higher levels of social intelligence could be expected to participate more frequently in activities demanding these skills. In children, the expectation is that individuals with greater social intelligence will participate in more highly complex games.

In 1979, Borman and her co-workers undertook a study of informal interaction on school playgrounds among elementary school children in three diverse settings in the Cincinnati metropolitan area. The major purpose of the study was to investigate differences in reported and observed rates of participation in highly complex games during lunch time recess at the three schools. All children (N=400) attending the three schools in the third and sixth grades were included in the initial playground log phase of the research. During this period, children kept a daily account of their major playground activity during recess. Logs were kept during a three-week period at the beginning of each year of research. A major purpose for collecting diary data in this fashion was to identify children who varied in rates of participation in playground activities including highly complex games. One particular aspect of the study concerns us here, the overall

differences in participation between boys and girls in highly complex games.

The overall finding inthis study of greater participation in highly complex games by boys is in keeping with the findings in other related research, notably Lever's earlier and methodologically similar work. Using cluster analysis, Borman and Sheoran (1981) initially analyzed all games and activities reported by children in their daily logs along the six dimensions of complexity identified by Lever and mentioned near the outset of this chapter. Games and activities fell along a continuum of three game clusters and a single activities cluster. Not surprisingly, the least complex pastimes according to Lever's typology are pursuits such as walking, talking, observing others, helping in the lunch room and so on which depending upon social skills in nurturance as opposed to skills in power brokering. The three game clusters correspond to games of low, middle and high complexity. Games of low complexity include hopscotch, jumprope, tag and tetherball; games of middle complexity include racquetball, kickball, and foursquare; finally, games of high complexity are softball, baseball, football, soccer and basketball. Clearly, according to this typology which incorporates dimensions or organizational complexity, predominantly girls' games of hopscotch, tether-ball, etc., offer less opportunity for rehearsal of power, rules and roles than games typically played by boys. By the same token, boys have reduced opportunity for rehearsal of skills in nurturance than girls.

To determine the nature of the actual linkages between sex, school, age and participation in more or less complex games and activites, a series of chi square analyses were completed. Results are reported in Tables 1, 2, and 3. These tables report results for all children (N=370) included in the study.

As is evident in Table , girls are morely likely than boys to participate with frequency in activities such as walking, talking, lunch room duty and the like (The Non Game Category) and in games of low and middle complexity. A disproportionately large number of boys participate in games of high complexity in comparison to girls. Although both boys and girls report occasional involvement in uncharacteristic pastimes, i.e., non games and low complexity games for boys and girls both low complexity and high complexity games for girls, they most often engage in sterotype activities as reported in Table 1. Girls' play revolves around skills of nurturance and intimate interaction which characterize dyadic play in hopscotch, tetherball and in conversational interaction (i.e., walking, talking, kibbitzing while others play). Boys' highly complex games require skills in negotiating, power brokering and managing others in the context of team games which are highly competitive in nature.

Not only are boys more likely than girls to engage in highly complex games, but, as is clear in Table 2, the social

context of the school experts an influence upon activity selection for both boys and girls. As reported in Table 2, disproportionate numbers of children at School 2 participate in non-game activities. School 2 is characterized by a divided student body since black students, approximating 30% of the total school enrollment, are bussed in from outside the local neighborhood. Poor black students constitute an alienated minority in School 2 which is located in a white, lower middle class neighborhood in Cincinnati. In contrast, a disproportionate number of children at School 1 participate in games of high complexity, although School 1 is also a desegregated setting. However, School 1 is located in an integrated lower middle class suburban community recognized by the NAACP for its well managed program of district-wide school desegregation. Finally, a larger proportion of students than expected at School 3 participate in games of middle complexity. Resources, or the lack of them, is at issue in School 3, attending by a large number (90%) of urban Appalachian students from low income households. Unlike either Schools 1 or 2, School 3 does not have extensive playground facilities. Grounds are limited to a small, asphalted yard adjacent to the school building. Thus, to summarize results reported in Tables 1 and 2, there is a strong and predictable relationships between sex and complexity of play and between school and play complexity.[1]

Occupational Interests and Play Complexity

Two years following the playground study, we were able to

locate 287 of the original group of 400 children. Because the older group were now enrolled in secondary schools, the number of area schools of interest increased from three to 16, presenting not only logistical complexities but also complications of a more substantive order. The secondary schools attended by children included two suburban junior high school settings in the same community and 12 secondary school settings in the central city, each with its own distinct milieu. The decision was made to conduct a survey of children's occupational interest using a standard measure, the Project Talent Interest Inventory. This instrument was selected not only because it covers a wide range of occupational choices but also because it is the only standard measure to our knowledge previously used with children as young as 11 years of age, the age of children in the younger cohort at the time of the second study (Spring, 1981).

Most recently (Fall, 1982), Gesterkamp conducted a series of interviews with eight ningth grade girls from the older cohort (see Table 3). These young women currently attend five different schools. Four (Alesia, Tammy, Terri and Dina) are enrolled in Suburban High, the ultimate destination in their public school careers of children from School 1. One (Coleen), formerly a student at School 2, attends Academic High, the prestigious public high school in Cincinnati where attendance is conditional upon performance on the Stanford Achievement Test administered to all city children in the sixth grade. Approximately 15-18% of Cincinnati's sixth graders quality for Academic High.

The three remaining girls attend different comprehensive junior high schools in Cincinnati. One (Ronja), a young black woman, is enrolled in School A, which is predominantly (82%) white and located near her former elementary school (School 2). The second, Cheryl, who is white, attends predominantly (61%) black School B. As an elementary student, she had earlier attended the majority urban Appalachian School 3. During Cheryl's fifth grade year, the central school administration in a large scale school closing decision had redrawn attendance lines. The result was that Cheryl's elementary school became a feeder to School B, a predominantly low income black junior high school. This was accomplished in the midst of a raging protest by affected parents from Cheryl's neighborhood whose school board confrontations and open warfare with the system made local headlines throughout the spring of 1979. Finally, Tammy, a former classmate of Cheryl, attends School C. This school is similar to comprehensive secondary School A in racial composition with a black enrollment of 28.4% (compared to the system-wide average of 57.5%).

In discussing the findings from the most recent work, we will focus on data gathered in the interviews conducted by Gesterkamp, drawing tentative conclusions about the association between the earlier participation of these girls in playground activities and games of varying complexity and their current academic progress, occupational plans, if any, and the like.

First, we will briefly describe the interview format and general areas of interest, seen as influencing career choice. The interview format included a series of open-ended and fixed schedule questions covering family, peers, school life, media influences and the respondent's own characteristics (See Appendix A).

Next, in an initial attempt to link these complex spheres of influence together to make sense of girls' current occupational plans (and former playground activities), we made comparisons among the girls grouped according to the schools in which they are currently enrolled.

Overall, the girls at Suburban High are currently receiving better grades than girls attending schools in the central city. Moreover, although only two of the four girls reported seeing a school counselor, all had clearer ideas of their plans following high school than the remaining young women. A contributing factor may be their exposure to a course included in the Suburban High ninth grade curriculum called Career Exploration which one girl mentioned as her favorite class. Specific career plans expressed by these girls include journalism, police work, veterinary medicine, drama and commercial art. In addition, two girls emphatically stated they had been developed their career orientations since elementary school; one girl has relatives who work in both here career choices.

The link between career and frequent participation as a sixth grader in games of varying complexity is less clear perhaps than the impact of the immediate school experience

itself, although there appears to be some relationship. Both of the grisl who played boys' games currently participate in extracurricular activities, have college and career plans and get grades of B or better. The former hopscotch player (Dina) participates in no extracurricular activities, is getting C's, and plans to attend trade school. The non-game player, Terri, however, participates in extracurricular activities, plans to attend college, plans a career in either a medical field or in drama, and gets A's. Indeed, Terri, who was observed on the elementary school playground performing chants and cheers, later became a cheerleader in junior high and is currently involved in three out-of-school activities. In fact, Terri, is more similar to the high complexity game players than to the hopscotch player Dina. For some girls at least, non-games may involve equally complex though rather different social skills than highly complex games. In this case, we are drawn to suggest a connection between Terri's cheerleading performances in sixth grade, her subsequent more formal performances as a junior high cheerleader and her current career interest in drama. Girls who don't play games at all, asin Terri's case, may be substituting other important social experiences for participation in learning rules, roles and strategies.

Only one of thefour girls attending school in the central city favored complex game play in elementary school. Coleen is also the only girl attending Academic High. Unlike girls at Suburban High whose parents and friends, with a single exception in each case, were equivocal, Coleen's college plans are firm

and are reinforced by her parents and friends, Coleen is getting B's and plans a career in either medicine or math. She has an older sister who is a nurse. Coleen most clearly fits the model we projected for the linkages between game complexity and occupationally-related plans and interests. She is the only girl, both to mention non-traditional career interests in math and medicine and to label all school subjects as neutral, seeing none as either masculine or feminine.

The three remaining girls present the most complex cases. Ronja who played a middle complexitygame (tetherball) as an elementary student is doing poor work in school, getting D's and F's. She plans to attend college after stopping out of school for a year. Her career interests are in the field of accounting; however, she does not know an adult at work in that field. Both parents want her to go to college after high school but her friends have no specific plans.

Cheryl, who preferred the low complexity game of hopscotch as a sixth grader, has no career plans and, although she is ambivalent about her college plans, neither parent supports this option, preferring she get a job following high school. Her friends, however, are planning on college. Cheryl is getting mainly C's and watches six or more hours of television each day. Her future goals seemed altogether unrealistic. Cheryl talked about an interest in competitive swimming, her single activity outside school. She swims irregularly at the Y, once or twice a month. In her view, serious, competitive swimmers capable of olympic-level performances can develop through informal

recreational activity during the junior high years. Although Cheryl has seen a counselor at school, her visit concerned a schedule adjustment and not a discussion of career plans.

Finally, Tara, a student at comprehensive secondary School C, as a sixth grader was a non-game player who engaged in conversations with girlfriends, but in the presence of same age boys. These boys, usually three or four in number, would move on the periphery of Tara's group, occasionally engaging the girls in conversation and most frequently bantering among themselves. Tara's career interest in military service and computers suggests she, like Coleen, is non-traditional in her orientation, especially since most of her friends plan to get married after high school rather than attend college or get a job. Tara, like Terri at Suburban High, may have developed social skills salient to her current career plans in a context outside the world of children's games. To reinforce this point, the social interaction among Tara and her friends including occasional exchanges with boys was rarely observed among other children on the playground making Tara's experiences in sixth grade unusual at least for girls in this study.

CONCLUSION

It is difficult to extrapolate clear implications from these diverse findings. We view the connection made here between social activity in sixth grade and career plans in ninth grade as tentative. Yet, the connection seems a logical one to make both because social life experiences in childhood are tied to future

adult roles in all societies and because power, rules, roles and strategies are inherent in both the world of games and the more general social life of children in this society. These same dimensions characterize the world of work experienced by adults.

Further, at least tentative career choices are mapped by girls during the junior high school years as Eisenhart suggests in her study of career decision-making among young college-aged women. We hope to continue to explore these linkages in the future in order to provide more detailed maps than are currently available of the life course of the social and career development of girls and young women.

Note 1

Subsequent analyses focused upon the variation in time spent preceding, negotiatin and playing observed and recorded games. These analyses revealed a fundamental contrast between girls and boys games centering upon the preoccupation in boys' games with power relations. For girls who play boys' highly complex games, physical skill, assertiveness and humor display were linked to participation. (These findings are included in K. Borman and J. Frankel "Gender Inequities in Childhood Social Life and Adult Work Life, to appear in K. Borman, D. Quarm and S. Gideonse (Eds.) Women in the Workplace: Affects on Children and Families. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Corporation, in press).

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Sex: Male or Female

2. Age; Birthdate

3. How do you describe yourself?
   a. American Indian or Alaskan native
   b. Asian American or Pacific Islander
   c. Spanish American
   d. Black or Afro-American
   e. White
   f. Other (specify)

4. How long have you gone to this school?

5. What grade are you in?

6. Do you take part in any of the following activities?
   a. Athletics outside of gym class
   b. Band, orchestra or chorus
   c. School clubs (if so, are you an officer?)
   d. Student government
   e. Other activities (specify)

7. How many of your good friends also participate?

8. How good are your school's athletic teams compared to other schools' teams in this area?

   a. much better
   b. a little better
   c. about the same
   d. not quite as good
   e. not really as good
   f. no teams play regularly

9. How well do you like the following?

   1. Don't like 2. Like fairly well 3. Like very well

   a. This school
   b. The students
   c. The principal
   d. The classes you take

10. How often are the following true of your school?

1. Almost never 2. Sometimes 3. Almost always

a. Everyone here knows what the school rules are

b. The school rules are fair

c. The punishment for breaking rules is the same no matter who you are.

d. The school rules are strictly enforced

e. If a rule is broken, students know what will happen

f. Students can get an unfair school rule changed

11. How much do you agree or disagree with each of the followig?

Agree Undecided Disagree

a. Schools should always have rules about the way students can behave

b. It is all right for a school to suspend a student without a hearing

c. If students are in a fist fight, let them settle it themselves

d. If students use drugs around schools, it is their own business

e. Students have a lot to say about the way this school is run

f. Students <u>should</u> have a lot to say about the way this school is run

12. In general, how often are teachers at your school like this?

1. Almost never 2. Sometimes 3. Almost always

a. My teachers expect a lot of work from me

b. They are teaching me what I want to learn

c. They get more upset with me when I don't know something than when I break the rules in class

13. Most classes here are: (list any that apply)

1. easy 2. interesting 3. hard 4. boring 5. worth taking

14. Is there a lot of competition for grades in this school?

15. Do most of your friends think getting good grades is important?

16. At the end of last marking period, were your grades:

1. High-mostly A's 4. Below average-mostly D's

2. Above average-mostly B's
3. Average-mostly C's
5. Low-mostly F's

17. Could you have chosen to be in a harder English class in your present grade if you had wanted to?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't know
4. In the hardest class
5. All classes are the same

18. How important are each of the following to you?

1. Not important 2. Fairly important 3. Very important

a. What teachers think about you
b. The grades you get at school
c. Being a leader in school activities
d. What other students at school think of you

19. How many years of math do you plan to take in high school? (0, 1, 2, 3, 4)

20. How many close friends do you have at this school?

1. None 2. 1-2 3. 3-4 4. 5-9 5. 10-19 6. Over 20

21. Have you ever seen a counselor? What for? Male or female?

22. How important are the following for a <u>girl</u> to be popular in this school?

1. Not important 2. Fairly important 3. Very important

a. good looks
b. good personality
c. good in school work
d. good in athletics
e. other (specify)

23. Same as Question 22, but this time for <u>boys</u> to be popular.

24. Do you have a boyfriend? Does he plan to go to college? Do you know what his career choice is?

25. How many hours of television do you watch a day?

1. none 2. 1-2 3. 3-5 4. Over 6 hours

26. What kind of television programs do you like?

1. comedies
2. sports shows
3. police/detective
4. love stories
5. other (specify

27. Does your mother/stepmother live at home with you?

28. If so, does she have a full-time job? A part-time job? Doint what?

29. How far in school did she go?

1. 8th grade or less
2. some high school
3. finished high school
4. some college
5. finished college
6. don't know

30. What would she like you to do after high school?

1. attend college
2. attend trade/vocational school
3. get a job
4. other (specify)

31.-34. Same as Questions 27.-30., but for father/stepfather.

35. Do you have any older brothers or sisters? What do they do?

36. What do you plant to do after high school?

37. (Talk about interest inventory results). Are your plans the the same? How long have you wanted to do this? Why do you want to do this? Are there any other things that you would like to do? Do you know anyone in this occupation? Who? Do you have any relatives in this occupation?

38. What do most of your friends plan to do after graduation?

39. Do you agree/disagree with the following? Why or why not?

1. A woman should work if she has children
2. A woman should care for the house and children while the husband works.

40. Do you have a favorite subject? If so, what? Why is this your favorite?

41. Label these subjects as either masculine(M), feminine(F), or neutral(N):

1. math
2. English literature
3. Biology
4. drama
5. music
6. history
7. art
8. home economics
9. latin
10. physics

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Table 1 Percentages of Boys and Girls participating in Non Games, low, middle and High Complexity Games

Complexity Categories	Boys	Girls
Non games	9	28
Low complexity games	4	7
Middle complexity games	24	42
High complexity games	63	23

($X^2 = 63.21$, $p < .001$)

Table

Percentage of Children in Schools 1, 2, 3. Participating in Non Games, low, middle and High Complexity Games

Complexity Categories	School 1	School 2	School 3
Non games	12	28	11
Low complexity games	6	1	10
Middle complexity games	22	26	46
High complexity games	60	45	33

($X^2 = 45.$, $p < .001$)

TABLE 3: Linkages Among Games, Family, Social Life, School Life, The Media
SOURCES OF INFLUENCE

School/Girl			Family Life		
Suburban High School	Game in 6th Grade	Father's Schooling	Father's Job	Mother's Schooling	Mother's Job
Alesia	Boys'(High Complexity)	High School	Super-visor	High School	Clerical Worker
Tammy	Boys' (High Complexity)	High School	Opera-tive	High School	Waitress
Terri	None	Some college	Sheriff	High School	Housewife
Dina	Girls' (Low Complexity	High school	Inspec-tor	Some College	Clerical worker
Central City					
Academic High School					
Coleen	Boys'(High Complexity	High School	*	High School	Sales
Comprehensive Complexity Five Secondary (School A)					
onja	Girls'(Middle Complexity	Doesn't know	Military	Some High School	Housewife
(School B)					
Cheryl	Girls'(Low Complexity	Some High School	Unemployed Welder	Some High School	Housewife
(School C)					
Tara	None	*		Some High School	Clerical Worker

*Not living at home

Media	Aspirations				
TV (Hours per/day)	Father's Plans	Mother's Plans	Friend's Plans	Own Plans	Career Choice
1-2	Doesn't know	None	Job	Travel/ College	Journalism
1-2	College	College	Job	College	Police/Veterinary Medicine
3-5	College	Doesn't know	College	College	Medical field/ drama
3-5	Trade School	Trade School	Trade School or College	Trade School	Commercial Art
3-5	College	College	College	College	Medical field/ Math
3-5	College	College	No plans	Stop out/ College	Accounting
6+	College	College	No plans	Job or College	None
1-2	Doesn't know	College	Marriage	Marines	Computer work

and current aspirations for 8 Ninth Grade Girls.

Social Life					School Life			
	Extracurricular Activities (N)	Friends (N)	Boyfriend Yes/No	Friends in Class (N)	School Subjects Gender-linked (Yes/No)	Favorite Subject	Grades	Seen Counselor (Yes/No)
Alesia	8	4	Yes	4	Yes	Career Exploration	A's	No
Tammy	3	10	Yes	4	Yes	Biology	B's	Yes
Terri	3	7-8	No	3	Yes	English	A's	No
Dina	0	0	Yes	1	Yes	Art	C's	No
Coleen	0	0	No	3-4	No	Math	B's	Yes
Ronja	1	5	No	5-9	Yes	Math	D's/F's	Yes
Cheryl	1	0	No	3	Yes	Math	C's	Yes
Tara	2	3	No	3	Yes	Math	B's/C's	Yes